Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Yamatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitábe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 [249] [824] [237] which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering -- jaromahik --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- pararí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the [283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 184 114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišna, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

/22 cont./

411 524 [824] Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- hauoá -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paioôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely [283] [824] toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

[192] [824] [237] [283] [192] Ruhumacîk is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the inâja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximacî. The feathering -- jaronahîk -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers, which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimacikenâme.

Surára & Pakidái

/25 cont./

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119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his
[412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with
[239] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

Puseheweterí
Surára,
Karimé

/32 cont./

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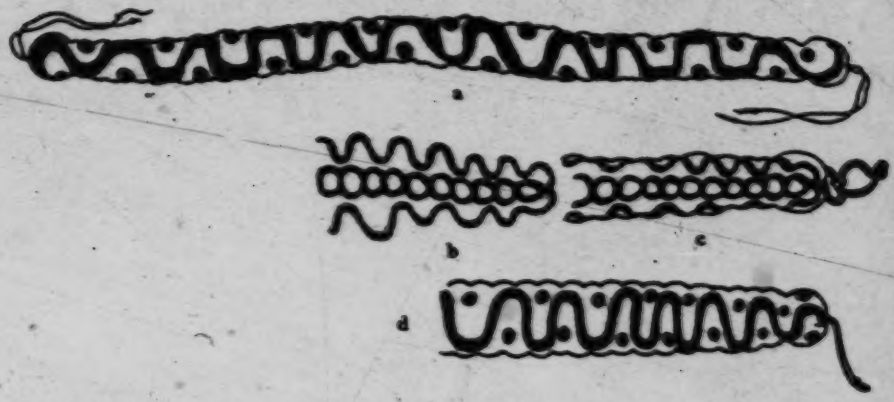

Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

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184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts, including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should 292 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweterí women usually adorn 531 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan 237 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and anambé azul (Cotinga 184 cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweterí women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by 184 Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweterí sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

Puseheweteri
Surára

/32 cont./

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531
•237

Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells.

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[462]
[237]

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yzó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin [284] tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

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• 237

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

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From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriâna and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriâna men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekuná men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriâna (Schirianâ) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonâmi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxí -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 •237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxí aratexinâ -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

301 /43 cont./
237 Pauxí maraxí -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers
825 of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).
Pauxí koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).
Pauxí parurihonomaíbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).
Pauxí marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).
Pauxí xeraɣeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:
Pauxí prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).
Pauxí maraxiakosíbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxí parurihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxí manhebéahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxí nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxí pehakossíbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 ●239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors.

[554] [962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Boróro, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Puseheweteri, and
114 Aramamesteri men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
237 the Makuxi and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 i) Bead ornaments
436 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái.
(822) They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waiká
Karimé

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293),

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301] 296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[230] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

412 184 /54 cont./ Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299).

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284] [824] and for the Xiriâna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,

300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriâna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means 000 of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

412 /54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise
171 mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an Arekuná who lived among the Guinaú on the Merewarí, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekuná who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakí (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionó (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412 /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micf -- represents a
184 work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema
[237] (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waiká and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantaná and rahaká -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xiriána (Schirianá) (306). The investigator named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

Shiriana
Surara
Pakidai

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xirišna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
●237 of the wild pig -- manacoauš --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikš (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehš --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikš (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimš (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
179 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as tercados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Pakidái

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- koribená.

[825] [353] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [953] a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gaviao-real

[171]

493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

[239] 755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

/112 cont./

782 [824] [237] with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure -- akuanohé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see, gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a particular spot.

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

825 202 On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in his hammock. [114] As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/113 cont./

7. Types of Sports

526
[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

• [237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

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821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uitoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamú, the fight

2: Becher--273 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

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Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

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Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his legs

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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Surára
Pakidái
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Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

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Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made

285 [323] and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá

323 415 make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports

[593] [727] that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife

[184] has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [197] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

411 [324] The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He ● [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 262 [237] [482] Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries, or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house. They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but [.766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as [784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao 262 223 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960; p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 125 262 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person. He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

4. Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 -SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *arke* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the cocuzo tree, the *lakse* of the Shiriana. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane.

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *sarapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uarema and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracoca and part of the Ururicoera, and before reaching

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

• 237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

/456 [illegible]t./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411 321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534 321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411 322 [824] [239] [412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322 412 [239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/462 cont./

Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

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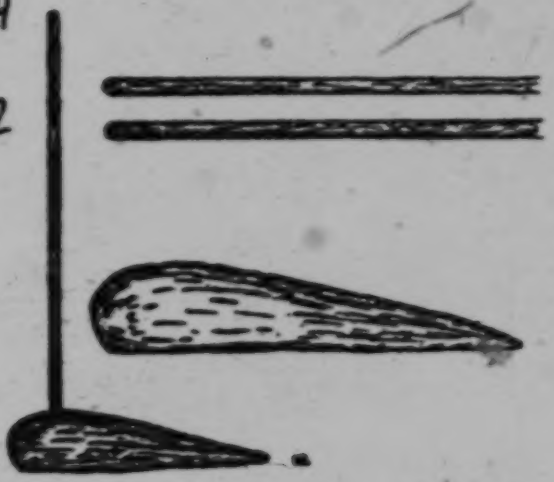

/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./

373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part
[237] of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and manioc and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ:8
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waika can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *pauji*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waika on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waika lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wa'Ca

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The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (Photograph by J. Grelier)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (Photograph by J. Grelier)

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[p. 112-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
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177 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
• 237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[104] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[591] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4] For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5] The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood [314] by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel [284] chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

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They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.

Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

The Yąnomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

The Yąnomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yąnomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

244 [179] [252] [999] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Venezuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo [531] points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

794 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[763] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

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[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.
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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.